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Early State Organization and Civilization in Southeast Europe - Thrace and the Thracian (5th-1st millennium BC). Theory and Practice

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The Latin term *civitas* has the meaning of *citizenship/community (of citizens)*, but also that of *state/state organization*. This is a historicophilological justification for the notion *civilization* to be also used with respect to communities to which we can apply the characteristic of *state organization*. Did the society in Thrace and of the Thracians from the period between the 5th and the mid-1st millennium BC have an early state organization, and could it therefore be determined as civilization? The answer of this question requires the consideration of the theoretical model and of the way it can be put into practice in compliance with the source basis.

Why are we using here the term *state organization* which seems to be very close to the notion of *state* bearing at the same time a shade of difference too? Certainly, because *state organization* is conceived as a process of transition from pre-class to early-class relations in society. This process implied all the basic elements of the social structure, i. e.: the economy developed by the community and depending on the geographical conditions; possession of the means of production; law – customaries and written law; estate and/or class stratification; ideology – resting upon a doctrine; the existence of an alphabet and literacy, in whose last phase is created literature.

The interdependence and interlacement of all these factors within the development of the social existence is a kind of form of social structuring which is here determined as state organization. According to the above mentioned criteria state organization becomes or transforms into a state when: the economy forms a *surplus* of production which goes for trade, and the community can and does make accumulations of material and spiritual goods; private property has an active part alongside the other property forms; customary law is codified; social stratification is based not only upon an estate customaries division, but also on a class economic inequality and exploitation; ideology finds expression in written monuments and documents; the spiritual accumulations contribute to the creation of literature. Hence, evidently, the political organizations of the society – *commune*, *state organization* and *state* – were directly related to the character of the economy, the forms of property, the social structure, the law, the ideology and the literature; in other words, they were depending on the latter.

The theory of the development of ancient human society has come to conclusions (Service, E.R. 1975, 21-22; Stefanovich, M. 1992, 24-36; Порожанов, К. 1998, 181-192; Стефанович, М. 1999 38.; Lichardus, J. 1999, 5-17) of real importance to the subject treated here. The initial raising of a definite individual (from a certain family) was related to the right of this personage-chieftain to distribute the product of the community's collective work among the communal members. In the sociopsychological aspect the act of presenting – for distribution is to be viewed namely like this – elevated the grantor, whereas the accepting of the gift belittled the presentee. So the chieftain appeared at the same time as a distributor, too, standing in the center of the socioeconomical formation. This way arose the necessity – which gradually became a rule stepwise approved as a tradition – to present the chieftain as well. Actually, the right of the chieftain to distribute and re-distribute was due – besides to the sociopsychologically grown inequality – also to the customary law entitling him to rule in the name and on behalf of the

whole community. The chieftain's way of life was the same as that of the other communal members. The arising social differentiation was thus legalized being founded on the customaries relations. Hence, starting from this initially given and entrusted by the community right of the distributor to be in service to the society he gradually assumed greater authority – to possess power. This, on its part, increased the significance of arms, the latter being principally in the hands of the king and the aristocracy functioning as means for the exertion of authority. This phase of the socialization development repeated the earlier stage, however on a new level, from a new position and with new means. At this point the presents given to the chieftain were already symbolic and related to the cult rather. Taxes became therefore a reality – if they were not paid voluntarily, they were levied by force and arms. At the same time the leader-chieftain continued to grant thus emphasizing his high social status compared to the masses of communal members. This way the chieftain-distributor turned from a servant to the community to its master, to its king. That was the way how estate division began to gain early-class dimensions.

Following these theoretical formulations force of arms and war did not appear as a cause but rather as an effect of the development of the social and political structures. They turned out to bear the most reliable evidence for that development, for the exertion of authority, for the existence and the imposition in society of relations different from the patriarchic-tribal ones. A state organization showing up in this way is not yet a completed state formation, and it is therefore defined by the notion of *chiefdom* (Priece, B. J. 1978, 184; Васильев, Л. С. 1983, 32-40; Порожанов, К. 2000, 9-18) The term is preferred here, since it reflects most exactly the character of the concerned social relations. It is considered, that this stage in the development of the community was obligatory for the sociopolitical formation to transform into a completed state. All this provides theoretical grounds to the assumption that state organization in Southeast Europe manifested itself for the first time during the Late Chalcolithic Age. Were there *chiefdoms* existing in Thrace by the end of the 5th millennium BC?

The first signs of social differentiation evidenced by the archaeology in Southeast Europe must have emerged by the end of the Chalcolithic Age (Togopova, X. 1984, 23-71; Togopova, X. 1986, 280; Avramova, M. 1992, 45-59; Порожанов, К. 2000, 12-14) They are most clearly discernible in the finds of the renowned Varna Chalcolithic Necropolis at the Black Sea coast, which represent an imposing number of coppermade tools, gilded and gold objects and arms. They are speaking for a community not merely with extraordinary high technological and technical achievements, but also with a sharp social differentiation. Namely this is relevant in the case considered here. The fact that in some of the excavated graves archaeologists came across quite a lot of gold, gilded and coppermade finds – but in most cases this kind of objects (outfit) were missing – indicates the rank differentiation in the community of that time. Namely this is the first indication of the broken homogeneity in society. These differences were not necessarily based upon the possession of property, for – as one can see from the archaeological discoveries of the settlements and dwellings from the concerned epoch – there were not established any particular differences between the families apart. It is considered, that in the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic Ages the community in Southeast Europe must have been on a tribal level of social organization. This is quite plainly evidenced by the archaeology of the settlements, dwellings and necropoleis of that time. The existence of a patriarchic-tribal community throughout these ages is indisputable. Actually, this extremely viable community survived on the Balkan Peninsula up to the 20th century inclusive. And when did the neighbourly-territorial community in Southeast Europe come into being? To presume its existence parallel to the patriarchic-tribal community already in the Neolithic Age seems impossible and illogical, at least for the time being. Then, how about the Chalcolithic Age?

The economy of the Late Chalcolithic Age society in Southeast Europe formed a *surplus* and a part of it went for exchange/trade and for accumulations for the needs of the cult. The stratification of the community indicates a sharp social differentiation. The ideology represented in the cult monuments was solar-chthonic, and it definitely emphasized the relevance of the male, i. e. the solar, principle. Hence, this ideology substantiates the social function of the ruler. We do not know which of the property forms exactly prevailed at that time; basing however upon the settlements and the dwellings from that period we may presume that social stratification was rather due to an estate division than to a class economic differentiation. Taking into consideration also the oldest written evidences – the so-called pictographs, which are actually on a higher, proto-linear stage of development of the writing, we can definitely conclude that there was state organization in the Late Chalcolithic society of Southeast Europe. And since in

the East of the 4th, 3rd and 2nd millennium BC state organization sprang up from the neighbourly-territorial community, we may surmise its arising and existence alongside with the tribal community during the Late Chalcolithic epoch in Southeast Europe. It seems impossible to determine what the political organizations of the society of that period were exactly like. We know however for certain, that some of them – at least those from the *Westpontic archaeological culture Varna* splendidly represented by the Varna Chalcolithic Necropolis, the settlement with *castle* from the Big Island near Durankulak and by some other sites along the Westpontic coast – were in a pre-state phase of development, i. e. in the eve of a state foundation. And since it does not seem possible to determine where exactly to search for the threshold of the state founding, the term *state organization* is preferred here with reference to social structure, for it typologically corresponds to that of *chiefdom*. This term appears more precise and appropriate for the case considered here, particularly bearing in mind that we are dealing with a society which possessed a writing being at the same time nonliterary and pre-literate.

Although we do not dispose of any direct written historical evidences yet, the state organization in Thrace during the Late Chalcolithic and the Late Bronze Ages can be traced and ascertained basing upon its manifestations (Георгиев, Г., Н.Я. Мерперт, Р.Каминчаров, 1979; Мерперт, Н.Я., А.А.Молчанов. 1991, 129-141, 132; Merpert, N. 1993, 5-8; Ivantchik, A. 1994, 17-22; Порожанов, К. 2000, 13-15.) First and foremost shows up the extraction and the sale of copper and metalware. These are real facts which certainly bear evidence of the accumulation of *surplus* in the society of that time. They also speak in support of the fact, that in the Early Bronze Age exchange/trade already existed and it was carried on preferably by sea – mostly on the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmora and the Aegean Sea. Secondly, the excavations of some settlements, e.g. near Ezero and Yunatsite revealed a kind of acropolis detached and strengthened by means of a defensive fortress wall which must obviously have had leading functions towards the rest of the surrounding settlements system. Plainly discernible is an estate stratification, at least two-levelled, showing tendencies to become more complex (and) which might – parallel to the allocation of greater accumulations – go over to an early-class stratification. In the third place, bearing in mind e.g. the tumuli and the symbols on the earthenware, it is certainly evident that the ideology was solar. In other words, it was aiming at the strengthening of the ruler's power as a proxy for the Sun on Earth. Having no knowledge of the forms of property one may presume – be it hypothetically because of the full lack of written sources – that in the Thracian society of the Early Bronze Age were also elements of state organization represented by *chiefdoms*. And since – analogically to the state organization of the Late Chalcolithic civilization in Thrace – it was not a completely developed class system, but rather represented by certain estates of its having also the function of classes in their earliest phase of development, it might be determined as state organization of an *estate-class society*. The existence of the estate-class society in Thrace during the Mid-Bronze Age was evidenced and ascertained by means of the explored settlements like e.g. the one near Nova Zagora. As regards this period – bearing in mind the observed novelties in archaeology obviously related to the appearance of tin-bronze – we may establish a continuation of the traditions from the foregoing epoch with respect to the state-founding process, too, i. e. in the existence of *chiefdoms*.

I will now try to prove the existence of a state structure of the Thracians in Southeast Europe from the time of their earliest mention in written sources by and from the mid-second and the beginning of the first millennium B. C. The result (Порожанов, К. 1991, 162-169; Порожанов, К. 1998, 207; Кумов, Г., Д.Азре. 2002, 81-219; 339-380) could be compared both to the preliminary inferences made with regard to proto-Thracian community and to the reliable findings concerning the state-founding processes in Thracian society during the 1st millennium BC best documented and most pronouncedly manifested within the Odrissian Kingdom (6th-4th c. BC).

Thrace's economy in the second half of the 2nd millennium BC was a closed natural one; it managed however to form *surplus*. Most reliably evidenced in this respect seem to be the metal raw materials and metalware. Their production and sale unambiguously indicate the existence of trade. However insignificant this trade may have been – most likely carried on by the king(s), it was evidenced by the pre-monetary forms of money (particularly as regards the period 16th-12th c. BC) – the metal ingots used by the Thracians and by the other Eastern Mediterranean peoples in overseas trade – exchange of metals and other ware. A successful effort for accumulation of goods in society were the treasures (including those of precious metals, too) which were related to the cult, i.e. to ideology. Hence, the structure of the economy – on the one hand, and its active

manifestation – on the other, indicate elements of state organization. Among the forms of property prevailed the communal property; a relatively strong accent seemed to bear the royal property covering besides herds, predominantly mines, and most likely also havens and ships. Relatively weak proved to be private property – mainly flocks of domestic animals in the form of personal or familial property. For the present we have not come across any kind of temple property yet. So the existence of private property – however limited and underdeveloped it may seem – indicates that there must have been elements of neighbourly-territorial communal relations, resp. elements of a state structure. In addition, if we assume that royal property might be regarded as a form of private property as well, then – taking into consideration the forms of property – the existence of state organization in Thrace in the second half of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st millennium must be beyond any doubt.

The social structure of the Thracian community of that time was studied on the basis of archaeology. Fortification by means of stone walls, or moats and ramparts of pointed wooden stakes (palisades) is a sure sign of the role of the leader who becomes a king. In the archaeology, represented by the dwellings, settlements and fortifications, however, we do not observe any drastic differences in property possession between families, tribes and communities apart. In other words, the Thracian society of this period was at least two-levelled. At one of the poles certainly were the reigning and ruling kings (and aristocracy), and at the other one – those ruled, the communal members who produced (the) public welfare. Both of the estates must have been constituted in result of the customaries order. Social inequality was legalized by force and arms as well as by means of the building of fortifications meant to protect the emerging property differentiation showing up mainly through the royal property and the leading role of the king in the performance of the cult related, on its part, to the treasures. These two levels were, however, socially linked by the common solar-chthonic cult based upon the ideological Doctrine of the Thracian Orphism. Both of the estates manifested themselves as classes too – classes as economic category founded upon the possession of the means of production. The contradiction between them consisted in the following: The king was striving to rule by force and arms not merely over his own means of production (herds, land, mines, havens and ships), but also over the rest of the communal property which had remained in the hands of the communal members: herds, land, water resources, etc. At the same time the communal members sought to preserve their liberty as well as the independence of their means of production. Hence it is logic to presume that – following an ancient Indo-European tradition – the kings of Thrace, too – like the Hittite rulers of that time – periodically toured together with their suites the lands they considered (were) theirs. In this way, peacefully or by force and arms, they levied taxes from the population. So the producing communal members had to bear tax burdens and impositions. In other words, they were treated by the king as his own subjects, subjects to his state. That society was neither just an estate community, nor was it a completed class society. Therefore it is determined as an estate-class society. The estate and class differentiation in the Thracian society from the second half of the 2nd /beginning of the 1st millennium BC indicates that state organization was also present in its social relations.

The royal ideology of the Thracian society from this period was the Doctrine of the Thracian Orphism (Фол, Ал. 1986, 190 с.; Фол, Ал. 1991, 1991, 305 с.; Фол, Ал. 1994, 349.) It found expression in the material monuments, the treasures and especially those of precious metals and metalware. Hence we can speak of an early state organization in Thrace in the ideological aspect as well.

On monuments from that epoch were discovered signs of a writing which were deciphered within Linear A and B – from the island of Crete and from Mycenaean Greece. That kind of characters were also found on: the copper ingot from the village of Cherkovo (near Burgas); the gold-silver ingot from Kaliakra (near Dobrich); the rondels from Burgas, the island of Samothraki and the village of Drama (in the area of Yambol), as well as on some anchors from Shabla and Sozopol –Westpontic coast. All of them certainly indicate the use of a writing in the early Thracian society, most likely related to the cult and/or to overseas trade. This is also a sure sign of the existence of an early state organization in Thrace.

Consequently, there are good reasons to believe that *chiefdoms* existed in Southeast Europe in the second half of the 2nd/beginning of the 1st millennium BC, *chiefdoms* as state organizations of the estate-class society of that time.

Here I would like to remind that *chiefdoms* were the first state organizations in Mesopotamia, too – in ancient Sumer, for example. The temples there had the function of a kind of collective

depositories and re-distributors of the common goods (Service, E.R. 1975, 206-209; *История Древнего Востока*, 107-111). – that is why the priest title *patessi* was attached to the king. Their urbanization activity was however an exception, for town-planning must have been extremely expensive and not achievable by each of the *chiefdoms* which came into being (Price, B.J. 1978, 184).

In other words, for the beginning of urbanization activities signifying the birth of a state was necessary an active and lasting stationary way of life that could lead to some considerable accumulations in society. Obviously because of its relative mobility the estate-class society was not that rich, and namely therefore here, in this area, were not found any remains of the kind discovered from the *chiefdoms* in Mesopotamia.

So the archaeological monuments are those indicating the origins of state organization of the ancient Balkan community in Southeast Europe from the end of the Chalcolithic Age - the end of the 5th millennium BC. State organization also existed during the Early and the Mid-Bronze epoch in the palaeo-Balkan and proto-Thracian society. This was a state organization of an estate-class society. Estate-class relations remained on the same level within the Thracian community from the second half of the 2nd and the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC, too. The historicoarchaeological situation in Thrace from the end of the 5th millennium BC up to the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC inclusive showing estate-class relations in the *chiefdoms* as a social structure appears to be similar in type and stage of development to the picture described in some early written sources from the pre-dynastic periods in Egypt (end of the 4th millennium BC) and Mesopotamia (end of the 4th /beginning of the 3rd millennium BC). In Egypt these early state formations were defined as *sepat=nomos*, and in Mesopotamia – as *ki=patessiates*. The unification of the *sepat/nomos* in Egypt by the 31st c. BC and of the *ki/patessiates* in Sumer – in the 28th c. BC marked the founding of the first early-class states in the world. Prior to, but also after that, however, both *sepat/nomos* and *ki/patessiates* ruled by local kings-priests or priests-kings of theirs represented the first and earliest form of state organization of the estate-class community. The estate-class relations in Thrace and of the Thracians in the period under consideration were represented namely by that kind of *sepat/nomos* or *ki/patessiates*=*chiefdoms*.

The literary record in Homer's *Iliad* of the Kingdom of Priam – a ruler keeping in subjection a number of local kings (obviously of *chiefdoms*) from Troas – in Northwest Asia Minor (14th-13th c. BC) having as capital the city of Troy/Ilium, undoubtedly indicates for the first time the existence of an early-class state in the Westanatolian part of the Thracian space (Homere. 1937-1938, *Iliade*, tome I-IV; Гунгин, Л.А. 1981; Porozhanov, K. 1995, 113-122; Porozhanov, K. 1997, 187-196). To be compared with, I would like to note that both the society in Mycenaean Greece (15th-12th c. BC) and the Phrygian community in Asia Minor (8th-4th c. BC), as well as the Etruscan and the Roman societies of the Italic Peninsula (8th-6th c. BC) bore early-class characteristics.

In the 1st millennium BC the Thracian community in Europe will be described as early-class society, too (Фол, Ал. 1972, 67-89; Понов, Д. 1989, 66-77; Фол, Ал. 1990, 57-59; Порожанов, К. 1998, 189-192; Йорданов, К. 2000, 49-70). The arising of the *Odryssian Kingdom* in the first half of the 1st millennium BC (by or in the 6th c. BC) marked the founding of an early-class state in the European part of the Thracian space, too, uniting – however on the basis of relations of subjection! – local estate-class state formations similar to and having the social character of the *sepat/nomos* and *ki/patessiates*=*chiefdoms*. In Thrace a reminiscence of them will remain preserved in the traditional state structuring – the division into dynastic/paradynastic provinces – the strategies, which were going to disappear from the historical scene only after the destruction of the Thracian early-class states by the Roman empire in the first two centuries of AD 1st millennium.

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Political Relations among Thrace, Macedonia and Paeonia C. 432-281 BC

Kiril Jordanov

The military, political and diplomatic contacts between the "Barbarian" territorial states in Southeastern Europe and the hellenic "polis" world had visibly become more dynamic even before the outlining total conflict between the Athenian arche and the Lacedaemonian league, the result of which was the devastating Peloponesian War (431-404 BC). Undoubtedly, to this vast contact zone of political and cultural interactions (Φολ, Αλ. 2002, 239) belongs also Western Asia Minor with Ionia, at this time an indivisible part of the Achaemenidian Empire under Artaxerxes I (464-423 BC) and Darius II (423-404 BC). The still powerful Empire has actively defended its diplomatic and political interests in this part of Europe in the general military conflict delineated there.

In microregional plan the political situation became more complex when the Athenians finally, after many-year efforts, founded Amphipolis as a *χωρίον* in 437/436 BC (Thuc. 4, 102, 1-4; Koukoul-Chrysantaki, Ch. 2002, 40, 43), and at the same time political claims were laid by the Edonian royal house, by Perdikkas II (454-413 BC), by the Odrysian king Sitalkes (±445-424 BC), and naturally by Athens and Sparta before the outbreak of the disastrous conflict between them in 432 BC. (Йорданов, К. 2000, 58). After numerous diplomatic missions and political negotiations, Sitalkes finally agreed, through his envoy Nymphodoros from Abdera, to become an Athenian ally in 431 BC. Even his son Sadokos was granted Athenian citizenship. And what was more, Nymphodoros reconciled Athens with Perdikkas II. He succeeded in reuniting Sitalkes, Teres' son, the king of the Thracians and Perdikkas II, the son of Alexander, king of the Macedonians, who acted jointly with Athens (Thuc., 2, 29, 4-7; 2, 67, 1-3; Aristoph. Acharn., 142-150; Schol. Ad 145; Diod., 12, 50, 2-3).

The attempts in the modern historiography to present Sitalkes, the Thracian king, as losing serious diplomatic and political positions towards Athens and Perdikkas II, remain without convincing arguments (Бомева-Боянова, Д. 2000, 57, 60-61).

The relations between Sitalkes and Perdikkas II seemed to be complex for a long time, because of the dynastic controversy over the power in Pella between Perdikkas and his brother Philip. Philip sought refuge at Sitalkes's, who obviously used him as a real threat to the power, while negotiating the territorial concessions to be made by Perdikkas II. In exchange to these concessions and to a great amount of money, Sitalkes promised not to bring Philip back in his homeland. Possibly contested lands in the border areas were meant, where Mygdonians and Bisaltae had lived since Herodotus' time. All this was well known to Thucydides who knew the ethnogeographic and the political environment between the Nestos and the Strymon, in the Chalcidice and Macedonia (Thuc. 2, 95, 1-2; Schol. ad 95, 1). The historian knew also about Sitalkes' invasion in the region of Mt. Kerkine, against the independent Paeonians. It is quite possible that these were operations of more than one campaign, because timber was felled under the king's orders. Ml. Tonev suggested that thus Sitalkes strengthened his power along the Middle Nestos and the Strymon before the Peloponesian War and was able to interfere more effectively when power claims were laid at Pella. By these operations of two or more years, Sitalkes started the submission the Paeonian Agrianes, with possible readings in the codices Graoi and Leei, who later joined his army against Macedonia and the Chalcidice in November 429 BC (Thuc., 2, 98, 1; Тонеv, Мл. 1942, 184).

There is a huge amount of studies in modern historiography on the reasons for Sitalkes' campaign, most of which follow Thucydides' information, partly repeated by Diodorus, with some inaccuracies though. The Odrysian king summoned a big army after the pursuasion of the

second Athenian embassy, led by the founder of Amphipolis, Hagnon. He called out all the Thracians between Mt. Haemus and the Rhodope, between the Pontos and the Hellespontos, the Getaen mounted archers, the independent Dii, and the above mentioned Paeonian Agrianes and Laeaeans. Thucydides says that they formed a grand total of 150 thousand, 50 thousand of which were cavalry. Diodorus gives a different number of the infantry: 120 thousand, correctly mentioned by Y. Todorov (Thuc., 2, 96, 1-4; 2, 98, 3-4; Diod., 12, 50, 2; Тодоров, Я. 1933, 16).

The impressive figures are probably exaggerated, but still they attest to the big demographic potentials of the Odrysian kingdom, whose borders were described in detail by Thucydides (Thuc., 2, 97, 1-2; Jordanov, K. 2000, 112-113). There is no need to doubt the authenticity of the historian's account and to consider whether these were his own observations, or some notes by Hagnon, later accessible to him?! (Тачева, М. 1990, 7). Undoubtedly, there was no heavy cavalry in the Thracian army, unlike that in the Macedonian troops; nor they had siege machines to take fortified cities. The army called out by Sitalkes first crossed its own territory, with the lands of the subjected Agrianes, Maedians on the left, and the Paeonians on his right (Thuc., 2, 98, 1-2; Пемпова, Е. 1999, 10). Then the army reached Doberos in Paeonia (Thuc., 2, 98, 3; 2, 99, 1; 2, 103,3). The location of the city is important, as the whole army gathered there before turning to the Lower Macedonia, i.e. towards Perdikkas II's domain. The lands of his brother, Philip, who, being a power pretender, died in exile at Sitalkes' court, began not far from this city. Scholars are inclined to locate Doberos along the Vardar River, near the present-day Stroumitsa, (Мукулчук, ИВ. 1999, 19) or at Isar-Marvinci (Пемпова, Е. 1999, 87-88). Eidomene/Idomene was situated quite near, at about 20 stadii (about 3.5 km) from Doberos, according to a 4th century inscription. The latter was localised near Valandovo (Мумпчевски, Д. 2001, 56; Мукулчук, ИВ. 1999, 20, 22-23), or at the village of Miletkovo (Пемпова, Е. 1999, 88). Thucydides relates that advancing from Doberos, the Thracian host first invaded what had been once Philip's government, and took Idomene by assault, Gortynia, Atalanta, and some other places by negotiation, these last coming over for love of Philip's son, Amyntas, then with Sitalkes. Strabo also knew Gortynia, explaining that she was on the Axios River, just at the place where the river narrowed (at the present-day Demir Kapia) and hindered the crossing from Paeonia to Macedonia (Thuc., 2, 100, 3; Strabo, 7, Fr. 4). Recently D. Mitrevski offered serious arguments for the location of Gortynia. During the 1999 archaeological season an inscribed stone slab, possibly dating to the second half of the 4th century BC, was discovered at Vardarski Rid. PTYNIA is relatively well read in the second line of the inscription, thus matching Thucydides' Gortynia (Мумпчевски, Д. 2001, 56-57). Mikulcic on his part, probably not knowing about the above inscription, locates Atalanta, the next city mentioned by Thucydides, at Vardarski Rid (Мукулчук, ИВ. 1999, 34). The expert on the cities in ancient Macedonia assumes that Paeonian tribes predominantly inhabited the upper and partly middle Vardar River valley with its tributaries Lepenets and Pcina to the north, Bregalnitsa, Lakovitsa and Stroumeshnitsa to the east, Markova, Topolska, Babouna, Cerna, Boshava and Doshnitsa to the west. The Agrianes inhabited the upper Strymon valley, (Мукулчук, ИВ. 1999, 113-116), the regions near Koumanovo and Skopie possibly included as well. The archaeological data support so far such an assumption (Соколовска, В. 1990, 16-17, 27; Мукулчук, ИВ. 1999, 118-129). Without siege machines, the Thracians failed to take the next fortified city of Europos, localised in the area of Koukoush (Мумпчевски, Д. 2001, 55), or to the south of Gevgelia (Мукулчук, ИВ. 1999, 19). The Thracian army crossed the Axios and ravaged Mygdonia, Grestonia and Anthemus. There the Thracians were often bothered by the Macedonian heavy cavalry and their allies. Sitalkes did not get the expected help by the Athenians and opened negotiations with Perdikkas II. Meanwhile, the Odrysian king despatched a large part of his army against the Chalcidians and Bottiaeans, the Macedonian allies, and laid waste their country (Thuc., 2, 100, 4-6; 2, 101, 1-2). The historian further relates that the Thessalians, and the Hellenes as far as Thermopile, the Thracians beyond the Strymon to the north, who inhabited the plains, such as the Panaeans, the Odomanti, the Droii and the Dersaeans, all of whom are independent, all feared that the army might advance against them, and prepared accordingly (Thuc. 2, 101, 3; Delev, P. 2002, 18). The severity of the coming winter, the lack of provisions, and the skilful diplomatic activity of Seuthes, Sparadokos' son and highest officer, made Sitalkes decide in favour of a peaceful solution of the conflict. The agreement was reinforced by a dynastic marriage. Perdikka gave his sister Stratonike to be Seuthes' wife, in addition to a rich dowry. Sitalkes retired home in Thrace, after a stay of thirty days in all, eight of which were spent in Chalcidice (Thuc., 2, 101, 3-6; Danov, Chr. 1976, 315-316). G. Kazarov (Кацаров, Г. 1933, 747) at his time correctly denied the suggestion that the agreement had included a royal marriage

between Perdikkas II and an anonymous Odrysian princess, because Thucydides would have mentioned such a political act. The same would be valid for Diodorus' account, who otherwise follows strictly his predecessor in stating that the Thracians set Amyntas on the throne in Pella?! This short passage can hardly be used for a reinterpretation of the historical events, related to the campaign against Macedonia and Chalcidice (Diod., 12, 51, 2; Тачева, М. 1990, 8). It seems that the Paeonians, including the Agrianes and Laeaens, became independent after the campaign in Macedonia. The suggestion is based on the short information by Thucydides that Sitalkes died, or was put to death, according to the two meanings of the verb used by the historian: ἀποθνήσκω, in a battle with the Triballoi, possibly in the region of the Oskios (Iskur) River, in November 424 BC. The assumption belongs to G. Mihailov (Thuc., 4, 101, 5; Мухаїлов, Г. 1972, 61) who accepts that the historian relates this event very briefly, as if concealing something, although by that time he had already been in exile near the Odrysian borders. After his death, his nephew Seuthes I assumed power, the Thracian-Paeonian relations coming to a standstill during his reign. Therefore, this gap in the bilateral relations covers even the first years of Philip II's rule. Possibly the major reason for this lay in the complex diplomatic and political interests of the Delian League, the relative instability of the Macedonian state before Philip II, as well as the new foreign orientation of the Odrysian kingdom towards the Propontis, the Thracian Chersonese and the northern Aegean, instead of towards the disputed areas in southwestern Thrace, including the Paeonian borderland (Йорганов, К. 2000, 59-61).

In the summer of 359 BC the 23-year old Philip II became regent and co-ruler of the under-aged son of Perdikkas, Amyntas. He had immediately to undertake diplomatic, military and political activities to prevent the attacks of all interested neighbouring countries (Corvisier, J.-N. 2002, 30-31; 74-75). Some of them supported other throne pretenders: Argaios was Athens' favourite, while Pausanias was backed up by the Thracian king. The situation to the north was no less difficult. The Illyrians, who had previously gained a victory over Perdikkas III, were in preparation for a new invasion, while the Paeonians, according to Diodorus, devastated the country. Philip II demonstrated his diplomatic talent in this complex situation. The Athenians gave up Argaios, as they received Amphipolis, while gifts were lavished on the Thracian king, probably Kotys I, and later both rulers came to an agreement. The Paeonians also agreed not to be aggressive, after a special embassy had given them a lot of presents and generous promises. Diodorus' information is confirmed again by the later epitomist of Pompeius Trogus, Justin (Diod., 16, 2, 1-6; 16, 3, 3-4; Just. 7, 5, 4-6; Йорганов, К. 1998, 15). Soon after that Philip II learned about the death of the Paeonian ruler Agis and suddenly decided to attack his neighbours, who were vanquished and submitted. Most scholars assume with good reasons that the Paeonians were not finally subjected and their political independence was not completely eliminated (Diod., 16, 4, 1-2. Пемпова, Е. 1999, 13). Philip II rather crushed their aggressiveness and forced them to pay tribute, and eventually to perform some duties and services (Isocr. Philippos, 5, 21; Corvisier, J.-N. 2002, 170).

Philip II took advantage of the favourable for him division of the Odrysian kingdom into three parts, not without the active Athenian intervention. The process was completed in 357 BC when the limits of the separate states were established. Kersebleptes, Kotys I's son, reigned over the lands east of the Hebros, the central part of the former kingdom were under Amadokos II, whose western borders reached Maronea. The third ruler, Berisades, controlled the area between the above mentioned city and the lower Strymon valley. Meanwhile Philip II continued his aggressive policy in the region, starting the exploitation of the gold mines of Pangaion, he took Krenides, naming the city Philippi, and in 356 BC he seized Amphipolis (Corvisier, J.-N. 2002, 129). In the next spring at the latest, Berisades died, provoking Kersebleptes' more intense activity to the west against his brothers, his onset being stopped with the help of the Athenians. (Demosth. C. Arist., 10; Тогопов, Я. 1933, 46-47).

During that same spring, Philip II's aggressive foreign policy provoked the formation of an anti-Macedonian coalition by all the neighbouring rulers and with the active Athenian assistance. It included the Paeonian ruler Lypeios (359/358 - 340-335 BC), ΛΥΚΚΕΙΟΣ according to his coinage, the successor of the superannuated Illyrian ruler Bardylis, Grabos II, who took power around 358/357 BC, as well as Ketriporis and his brothers. A fragmentary inscription found in Athens shows that the treaty was finally concluded by oaths in July 356 BC. The historians, the editors and the commentators of the inscription all agree that the concluded military alliance (symmachia) aimed at a combined strategic blow against Philip II. The Macedonian ruler should have been attacked from several sides and pushed back from sea and from the territories along

the lower Strymon valley. Unfortunately, the badly damaged inscription does not clarify the engagements of the allies, as well as those taken by Athens. It cannot be understood from the preserved text whether the Athenians rendered any real help to the Illyrian, Paeonian and Thracian rulers at all (Йорганов, К. 1998, 27-29). Diodorus gives a vivid account of the proceeding events in a short but clear text. The three rulers thought that by joining their forces they would easily have the better of Philip II. The Macedonian king, however, acted swiftly, surprised them unprepared while they were still gathering their armies, and they had to ask for peace. In another, even more brief text, Diodorus explains that Philip II's loyal strategos Parmenio defeated in battle the Illyrian king Grabos. The historian does not state whether the Paeonians suffered the same, but it seemed that they also were pressed hard and even part of them submitted (Diod., 16, 22, 3; 16, 31, 6; Corvisier, J.-N. 2002, 182). At least this would be the interpretation of two short passages from Demosthenes' First Olynthian, delivered in the summer of 349 BC. First, the politician and the orator reminds about Philip II's campaigns against the Illyrians and the Paeonians, and in the second text, he states that Paeonian or Illyrian or any other of these tribes would prefer freedom and independence to slavery (Demosth. Olynth., I, 13; 1, 23; Кацаров, Г. 1921, 48 = Кацаров, Г. 2001, 586).

Despite the military and political pressure over the neighbours, the Macedonian royal house could have hardly interrupted the economic and political relations between the Thracians and the Paeonians in the early Hellenistic age. Such a conclusion finds a good support in the discovered big hoard near the village of Rejantsi, in the middle of Graovo. The already published hoard consists of 1446 tetradrachms of Philip II, 1208 of Lypeios'/Lykeios' successor Patraus (c. 340-335 - 315 BC), two tetradrachms of Lykeios, two of Diplaios (c. 330 BC) and one of the city of Damastion (Пемпова, Е. 1999, 104-106; 112).

The Thracians and the Paeonians appeared again in the historical tradition on the occasion of Alexander III the Great's campaign in Thrace in the spring and summer of 335 BC. I would rather leave without a commentary a very general and inaccurate statement by Diodorus on Alexander's operations in the areas adjacent to Macedonia. The historian seems to have compiled information from his predecessors, which had a very confused chronology and was often contradictory. Diodorus says that after the unrest in Greece had been brought under control, Alexander the Great submitted the Thracians, then he swung west to Paeonia and Illyria and the territories that bordered on them. All the "Barbarian" population was subjected. Some scholars explicitly emphasise that this specific text by Diodorus should not be taken into consideration at all (Diod., 17, 8, 1; Кацаров, Г. 1921, 50 = Кацаров, Г. 2001, 588). Scholarly attitude to Arrian's account is quite different, as he had used first-rank sources, Ptolemy I Soter included, and possibly an information originating from Alexander's headquarters. According to Arrian, on his way back from the Istros river, Alexander crossed the lands of the Agrianes and the Paeonians. There Alexander learned that the Illyrians, the Taulantii and the Autariatae had formed an alliance to fight against him. The old ally Langaros came to the Macedonian camp and offered to invade the Autariatian territory. After the expected victory Alexander the Great showed his gratitude by bestowing on him honours and gifts. The young king even promised Langaros his sister Kynane in marriage and a wedding ceremony in Pella. The royal marriage was not concluded because of Langaros' sudden death (Arr. Anab., 1, 5, 1-5). The Macedonian army took a victory over the Illyrians with the help of the Agrianian archers. They also participated actively in the seizing and destroying of Thebes in the autumn of 335 BC (Arr. Anab., 1, 6, 6; 1, 8, 1-2; Пемпова, Е. 1999, 11).

Written sources attest to the participation of the Macedonian allies in Alexander the Great's army since his campaign to the East in the spring of 334 BC. Diodorus, who used reliable sources this time, lists all participants, allies and mercenaries in the infantry under the command of Parmenio. The Odrysians, Triballoi and Illyrians, a total of 5000, in addition to 1000 Agrianian archers were among them. The interpretation of the Thracian and Paeonian soldiers in the Alexander's army should not be biased, i.e. that they were forced to do so. These allies joined rather voluntarily the Macedonian army, expecting rich booty from the cities of the Achaemenidian Empire which had entered a deep crisis (Diod., 17, 17, 3-4; Йорганов, К. 1998, 129-130). Arrian who describes the disposition of the Macedonian army before the battle of Granikos in May 334 BC, disposes the hetairoi, the archers and the Agrianes, the javelin-men, in the left wing under Philotas. Amyntas with the cavalry, the Paeonians and the ile under Sokrates were behind them. Another text by Arrian is very instructive. At the council held before the decisive battle at Issos in November 333 BC and chaired by Alexander the Great, the king estimated the merits of the

two opposing armies, facing each other. He specially emphasised on the "Barbarian" Thracians, Paeonians, Illyrians and Agrianes who were the most courageous and valiant among the European tribes, and they had to meet the weakest and effeminate peoples of Asia! (Arr. Anab., 2, 7, 5). The historian specifies that the Paeonians were under Ariston's command, arranged together with the Agrianes, led by Attalos, as a strategic reserve behind the king. Kazarov suggested that this Ariston might have been from the Paeonian royal house. An anecdote conversation between Alexander the Great and Ariston, rendered by Plutarch (Arr. Anab., 2, 9, 2; Plut. Alex., 39; Καυαποβ, Γ. 1921, 51 = Καυαποβ, Γ. 2001, 589), supports such an assumption, but there are no other, more convincing, arguments. In the decisive battle at Gaugamela on the 1st of October 331 BC, which brought about the collapse of the Achaemenidian Empire, half of the Agrianes, led by Attalos, and the Paeonians under Aretas and Ariston were disposed in the second row of the Macedonian army. They distinguished themselves in the thick of the battle, repelling the attacks of the Scythian cavalry and of the Bactrians, destroying many of the chariots with sickles which had to cut into the Macedonian array. Curtius Rufus gives another version of Ariston's participation in the battle of Gaugamela. He not only led the Paeonian cavalry, but also overcame in a personal combat the commander of the Persian cavalry, Satropates. Some scholars suggest that the reverse of Patraus' tetradrachms (340-335 - 315 BC) represent the victory of his younger brother or son Ariston over Satropates ?! (Arr. Anab., 3, 12, 3; 3, 13, 3-5; Curt. Ruf. 4, 9, 24-25; Πέμποβα, Ε. 1999, 16-17). The assumption is curious and possible, but so far remains beyond proof.

It is again Arrian who describes the joint actions of the Paeonians and the Thracians in the battles of the Macedonian army on the territories of the Achaemenidian Empire. This time the Thracian leader, bearing the royal name of Sitalkes, is one of the main figures. It was just this royal name which misled Hock to suppose, about 110 years ago, that he was one of Kersebleptes' sons, sent as hostage to Pella, according to the clauses of the 'Peace of Philocrates' in 346 BC. later the assumption was refuted as completely groundless (Hock, Ad. 1891, 116; Τογοποβ, Я. 1933, 63-64; Φολ, Αλ. 1975, 115).

Arrian relates the story about the skirmish with the warlike mountain-dwellers in Pisidia, near the city of Sagalassos, where Alexander the Great took advantage of the battle skills of the bow-archers and the Agrianes on the right wing, while the Thracian akontistai (javelin-men), led by Sitalkes, were on the left wing (Arr. Anab., 1, 28, 4). Those Thracians were very skilful in the outflanking operations, when this same Sitalkes led the Thracians at the left wing of the Macedonian army, next to the allied cavalry and the mounted Odrysians under Agathon in the battle at Issos. Part of the Thracian infantry was left to guard the army supply. In 330 BC, after Philotas' plot and the murder of his father, Parmenio, under Alexander's orders, the administrative functions of the former Macedonian strategos were divided between Media's strategos, Kleandros, Sitalkes and Menides (Arr. Anab., 2, 5, 1; 2, 9, 3; 3, 12, 4-5; 3, 26, 3; Detschew, D. 19762, 451). Later Sitalkes' career ended with no glory. In the summer of 326 BC he, together with Kleandros, arrived from Media to Karmania, under Alexander's personal order. There the strategoi were blamed by the population for having gone beyond their authority and for having looted temples and tombs. Alexander, furious and willing to inspire fear in the rest of the satraps, nomarchs and strategoi, ordered the law violators who could not prove their innocence to be executed (Arr. Anab., 6, 27, 4; Detschew, D. 19762, 452).

After Alexander's death in Babylon on the 10th of June 323 BC, the Thracians and Paeonians participated mainly in the diplomatic and political struggles of the Diadochi meant to preserve or sanctioned their states, which sometimes were seriously threatened. In Paeonia, Audoleon who declared himself basileus in 306/305 BC, waited for a favourable situation to affirm his military and political autonomy among the Diadochi, struggling for domination. Such an occasion appeared in 288/287 BC, when Lysimachos, the king of Thrace, Ptolemy I, the ruler of Egypt, and Seleukos formed a coalition against the strong king of Macedonia since 293 BC, Demetrios Poliorketes. It was joined by the Illyrian ruler Bardylis, by the Paeonian king Audoleon, and by Aetolia and Sparta. The coalition succeeded in overwhelming Demetrios, as Pyrrhus and Lysimachos shared the rule over Macedonia in August 287 BC, and the border between their governments seemed to be the Axios River (Ўорѓаноβ, К. 1998, 214-215). It is highly probable that the Paeonian king Audoleon took advantage of the coalition victory, because he had a high political authority, being among the rulers who helped Athens while besieged by Demetrios, together with Ptolemy I, Lysimachos and the Bosporean Spartokos III (304/303-284/282 BC) (Πέμποβα, Ε. 1999, 19-20). These rulers were honoured in Athens with special decreta (Χαβухм, Х. 1999, 136). Audoleon died in the archon year of 286/285 BC, which provoked a dynastic struggle over the throne,

where the neighbours could not resist interfering, especially Lysimachos, who, almost without a real resistance, chased Pyrrhus away from Macedonia and Thessaly in the spring of 285 BC. In this favourable situation Lysimachos pretended to help the son of his old ally Audoleon, Ariston. According to a stratagem related by Polyæn, the king of Thrace and Macedonia tried to capture Ariston by a deceit during a ritual ceremony in the waters of the Astibos (Bregalnitsa) River, which preceded the enthronization itself. Ariston happily escaped the ambush, or was left on purpose to escape (?!), seeking refuge in the neighbouring Dardania. There was no any obstacle for Lysimachos in conquering Paeonia. The evidence of the stratagem is further confirmed by fragment 13 of Diodorus' 21st Book, where he explains that Lysimachos took possession of the wealth of the Paeonian king Ariston (Polyæn. Strat., 4, 12, 31; Diod. 21, Fr. 13; Jordanov, K. 1997, 17). His power was short-lived, as he was killed in the battle at Korupedion in February 281 BC.

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Обр. 11



Обр. 12



Фиг. 1

Newly restored Materials from the Necropolis of Trebenishte

Pavlina Ilieva

Summary

Some of the finds from the necropolis of Trebenishte are kept now in the Antiquity Collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. They date to the 6th century B.C. and reflect the stage of cultural development of the south-western Thracian tribes by that time.

The earliest Greek influences penetrated the central parts of the Balkan peninsula in the time of the Great Greek Colonization. The first historically recorded contacts of those lands with the Greek world also date to that period. In the 7th century B.C. the Hellenes constituted a network of colonies along the Adriatic coast, based on three powerful centers - Corcyra (modern island of Corphou), Epidamnus (= Dyrrachion, modern Durrësi), and Apollonia (modern Pojan). Corcyra was established at the earliest. Due to its superb geographical position, it controlled all the sea routes in the Eastern Adriatic and played the role of prime center of Hellenization and further colonization of the region. A similar process was in full progress along the Aegean and Black Sea coasts of Thrace as well. Therefore it is not surprising at all that a considerable number of the finds from the necropolis of Trebenishte are Greek imports, while others are Thracian - barbarian products made under Greek influence. That influence spread from the main Greek centers of crafts and culture and penetrated Thrace by sea as well as by land.

A large variety of ancient vessels are treasured now in the Antiquity Collection of the Institute of Archaeology and Museum at the Bulgarian academy of sciences. The finds from the necropolis of Trebenishte also taken into account, this is for sure one of the richest collections of archaic bronzes. The extravagantly rich grave finds from the necropoleis of Sindos, Trebenishte and Duvanli, dated to the 6th - 4th centuries B.C., reveal the common features of the aristocratic houses in the southern part of the Balkan peninsula.

Нови реставрирани материали от некропола при Требенище

Павлина Илиева

В непосредствена близост до Охридското езеро, преди повече от 80 години, са разкрити седем гроба от некропола в Требенище. Поради военни обстоятелства Богдан Филов и Карел Шкорпил публикуват този материал 10 години по-късно.

На 3,5 км северно от Охридското езеро, западно от него се простира равнина, през която минава р. Дрин. Областта е отделена от брега на Адриатическо море чрез планините на днешна Албания. Две реки - Шкумбе /Генесис/ и Семени /Ансус/ - осъществяват връзката с крайбрежието.

Ранните гръцки влияния в областта на централната част на Балканите са от времето на гръцката колонизация. Това са и първите исторически контакти на тези земи с гръцкия свят. През VII в. пр. Хр. елините създават мрежа от апоикии, която обхваща Адриатическото крайбрежие и се крепи на мощни центрове - Коркира /дн. о-в Корфу/, Епидамнос /Дирахиум, дн. Дуресу/ и Аполония /дн. Пожан/.

Коркира е първата гръцка колония на Адриатика, откъдето гръцките колонисти са проникнали по-нататък на север. Всички морски пътища са били контролирани от колонията на Коркира. Поради изключителното си географско положение тя се превръща в средище на елинизация. Подобна е ситуацията и по бреговете на Черно и Егейско море. Ето откъде идва и твърдението, че значителен брой материали от некропола при Требенище са гръцки внос, а други като трако-варварски - резултат от елинското влияние.

И ако според досегашните тълкувания, някои паметници от материалната култура на Тракия от класическата и ранноелинистическата епоха се свързват с егейски "реминисценции", то това може да се тълкува и така, тъй като съществува голям хронологически разрыв между края на микенския свят и разцвета на класическа Тракия - цели 8 столетия.

Съществува обаче едно силно потвърждение, което документира преместването на центъра на единната в основата си Егейска цивилизация в посока север-североизток - некрополът при Требенище - междинна връзка между микенски и тракийски вариант на тази цивилизация.

Изследванията на некропола показват продължителен период на съществуване - от VII до края на IV, началото на III в. пр. Хр. Богатият погребален инвентар се среща само в гробовете, датирани в края на VI в. пр. Хр. Този факт потвърждава тезата за наличието на луксозни "вносни" съдове, гобелета и ритони от сребро, които се откриват единствено в "царски гробове". Писмените извори за Тракия, Скития, Македония и Мала Азия разглеждат тяхната роля като царски инсигнии.

Богатият погребален инвентар от некропола при Требенище, очертава макар и не детайлно фигурата на владетеля в този район. Налице са всички атрибути, които изисква властта му. Това научаваме от античните извори, оставили ни известни следи, ако не за генерални изводи, то поне за плахи хипотези.

Сребърните кантароси от Требенище /обр. 1/ намират безспорна аналогия с кантароса от Вълчитрън /обр. 2/ Разлика има в техниката на изработка - гръжките са изтеглени непосредствено от ръба на устието и едва след това биват приковани към тялото.

В античния фонд на АИМ при БАН се съхраняват следните материали от некропола при Требенище, датирани от VI в. пр. Хр. и отразяващи културата на тракийските племена в югозападните предели на тракийската диаспора:

6992 - железен пръстен
 6993 - фрагмент от железен предмет
 6994 - стъклено шише
 6995 - стъклено шише
 6996 - стъклено шише
 6997 - стъклено яйцевидно шише
 6998 - стъклено яйцевидно шише
 6999 - алабастрон от цветно стъкло
 7000 - големи стъклени перли /49 бр./
 7001 - малки стъклени перли

7002 - кехлибарени перли /12 бр./
 7003 - кехлибарени перли /36 бр./
 7004 - глинена статуя
 7005 - фрагменти от глинени статуи
 7006 - малък глинен съд
 7007 - фрагмент от глинен скифос /груба направа/
 7008 - фрагмент от глинен съд
 7010 - фрагмент от голям глинен съд
 7037 - бронзова кана

Илюстративният материал към настоящата работа позволява да се проследи цялостния процес на консервационни и реставрационни дейности на кратер, бронз Инв.№ 6920; капак-цедилка, бронз Инв.№ 6948; хидрия, бронз Инв.№ 6927; ойнохое, бронз Инв.№ 6929; шлем, бронз Инв.№ 6973 и шлем, бронз Инв.№ 6976. Консервацията е дело на ст. н. с. Васил Василев, а реставрацията на колектив с ръководител Благой Дживджанов. При всички бронзови предмети от некропола съществуваше висока степен на корозионна минаризация по цялата повърхност, с груби брадавични образувания и почвени отложения. Протичаше корозионен процес с локални перфорации. Бронзовете съдове бяха с нарушена цялост при предишни, проведени преди повече от 40 години консервационни намеси, с изцяло отстранен епидермис, с големи питинги и много големи перфорации и липсващи части.

Изключителен интерес представляват предметите от бронз. Големият кратер /обр.3/ за първи път се показва след цялостна консервация и реставрация. Бронзовият кратер на гроб № 1 от некропола има обща височина 68 см. Краят на устието има силен и богат профил, украсен с пластичен листов орнамент, редица перли и по-фина редица от перли. Шията на съда е украсена с 6 отделно изработени фигурки на крави, от които сега са запазени 5. Всички те са изработени върху малка база в едно и също положение - вървят наясно и гледат напред. Някои малки различия ни дават основание да считаме, че не е използван един калъп. Краят на опашките е образуван витлообразно. Раменете на съда са украсени с широк езичест орнамент. Подставката, която по форма напомня персийската база на колона с форма на звънец е излята отделно и много богато украсена. Под вълнообразна рамка, фина са разположени трилистни палмети. Вълнообразна линия отделя празното пространство, след което следват лотосови цветове. /обр.3/

Дръжките се състоят от една голяма волута, богато украсена с пластични листови орнаменти и перлови редици. Волутата се поддържа от бюста на една медуза /обр.4/ Долният край на бюста е украсен с висящ листов орнамент. Ръцете са симетрично свити под гърдите. Горната им част е богато моделирана и има силно развити мускули. Медузата има кръгли, широко отворени очи, много широк нос и дълга уста, от която се подава езикът. Косата пада от двете страни на тялото в по 5 плитки, дълги и силно стилизирани. На гърба си медузата има две криле, извити по архаичен маниер. Освен това, от гърба ѝ под крилето излизат две големи змии. Главите им са изправени нагоре и са обърнати напред /Обр. 4/.

Една много интересна аналогия ни отвежда към дръжка от хидрия /инв. № 8125/ намерена в Старо село, Сливенско /обр.5/ Бронзовата дръжка от хидрия с лъвско протомоне и две маски на медуза, същата иконография на тази на подробно описаната по-горе при дръжките на кратера от Требенище.

Към находищата от Старо село, Сливенско принадлежи и златен нагръдник /инв. № 8123/ от първата четвърт на V в. пр. Хр /обр.6/. Така също и една сребърна чаша с Инв.№ 8124, украсена от външната страна със сребърни позлатени пластинки с лотоси и плетеница. Те са съвсем точен паралел със сребърната чаша от Требенище /обр.7/

След извършената консервация и реставрация на капак-цедилка /Инв. № 6948/, на кратера /Инв. № 6920/ от гроб № 1, получихме една завършена в експозиционно отношение цялост, към която се стремим. Една голяма част от гробния инвентар на гроб № 1 е вече консервирана и реставрирана.

Цедилката на кратера е с диам. 0,41 м и височина само 0,025 м. периферията на съда ляга точно върху устието на кратера. Двете плоски дръжки на капак-цедилка са правоъгълни, дълги по 0,178 м. краищата са извити и завършват с релефни волутни

палмети. Интересен е фактът, че има очевидна разлика в изпълнението на декоративните елементи по двете гръжки.

Реставрираната хигрия, Инв. № 6927 от гроб № 1 има една отвесна и две хоризонтални гръжки /Обр. 8 /. Дръжката на каната-ойнохое Инв. № 6929 има сходна структура с отвесната гръжка на хигрията.

През втората половина на VI в. пр. Хр. най-разпространени са гръжките, чиито ръкохватки са изработени като обемни фигури на младеж-курор. Обикновено вдигнатите ръце на куроса държат две животни. Краката стъпват върху палмета с двойни волути. Тялото на архаичните куроси е моделирано детайлно, като това на огледалото-гръжка, бронз от Чукарка от VI в. пр. Хр. Много хубав пример за това е и гръжката от гроб № VI, Инв. № 6935 .

Бронзовата кана-ойнохое Инв. № 6929 от гроб № I е един изключително хубав екземпляр /Обр. 9/ и /обр.10/

Фигури на куроса са използвани при изработването на гръжки на големи фиали /Инв. № 6935/. От фиалата са запазени 4 фрагмента. Тя е включена в следващия проект за реставрация.

Реставрираните шлемове Инв. № 6973 и Инв. № 6976 /Обр.11/и/Обр.12/, са чудесни примери за тракийски паметници.

В античния фонд на АИМ се съхраняват многообразни бронзови съдове. Като прибавим и тези находки от некропола при Требенище, можем да твърдим, че нашият музей притежава една от най-богатите сбирки от архаични бронзови съдове.

Разточително богатият гробен инвентар, документиран от VI-IV в. пр. Хр. в некрополите Синдос, Требенище и Дуванли носи общия белег на местните аристократични домове, разкрити в южната част на Балканския полуостров.

Литература:

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Опис на образите:

Обр.1 Кантароси, сребро, инв. № № 6890; 6891, Требенище

Обр.2 Кантарос, злато, инв. № 3193, Вълчитрън

Обр.3 Кратер, бронз, инв. № 6920, Требенище

Обр.4 Детайл от волутиен кратер, бронз, инв. № 6920, Требенище

Обр.5 Дръжка от съд, бронз, инв. № 8125, Старо село, Сливенско

Обр.6 Нагръдник, злато, инв. № 8123, Ста-

ро село, Сливенско

Обр.7 Чаша, сребро, инв. № 8124, Старо село, Сливенско

Обр.8 Хигрия, бронз, инв. № 6927, Требенище

Обр.9 Ойнохое, бронз, инв. № 6929, Требенище

Обр.10 Детайл от гръжка, бронз, /от ойнохое/, инв. № 6929, Требенище

Обр.11 Шлем, бронз, инв. № 6973, Требенище

Обр.12 Шлем, бронз, инв. № 6979, Требенище



Обр. 1



Обр. 1 Кантароси, сребро, инв. № № 6890; 6891, Требенище



Обр. 2 Кантарос, злато, инв. № 3193, Вълчитрън



Обр. 11 Шлем, бронз, инв. № 6973, Требенище



Обр. 6 Нагръдник, злато, инв. № 8123, Старо село, Сливенско



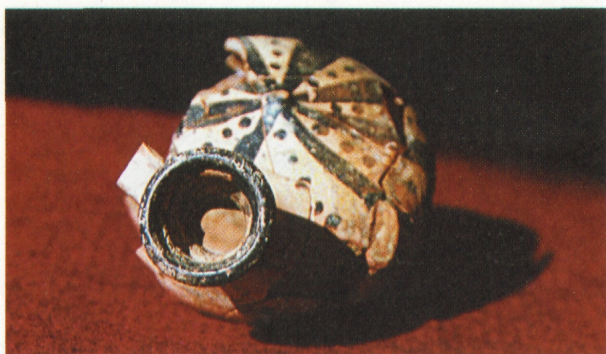
Обр. 7 Чаша, сребро, инв. № 8124, Старо село, Сливенско



Обр. 5 Дръжка от съд, бронз, инв. № 8125, Старо село, Сливенско



Обр. 4 Детайл от Волутен кратер, бронз, инв. № 6920, Требенище



Фиг. 9 Глинен аскос от гроб № 2, каталожен № 19. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 10 Глинена стомничка от гроб № 2, каталожен № 12. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 11 Глинен съд с една дръжка от гроб № 2, каталожен № 10. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 12 Глинена паница от гроб № 2, каталожен № 11. Сн.: Георги Китов.

Г. Мавров

Възстановяване на колонада на тракийски храм в могила "Хоризонт". **стр. 121**



Фиг. 1



Фиг. 6

Павлина Илиева

Нови реставрирани материали от некропола при Требенище. **стр. 94**



Обр.10 Детайл от дръжка, бронз, (от ойнохое), инв. № 6929, Требенище



Обр. 3 Кратер, бронз, инв. № 6920, Требенище

Никола Тонков

Някои методически новости при електросъпротивителните изследвания на тракийски могили край Старосел. **стр. 206**



Обр. 9 Ойнохое, бронз, инв. № 6929, Требенище

Иван Маразов

Двубоят като ценностно изпитание в митичната биография на тракийския владетел. **стр. 124**



Фиг. 7 Крепидата от Четиньова могила.



Фиг. 1



Фиг. 8 Стената западно от коридора на гробницата в Четиньова могила.



Фиг. 2



Фиг. 1 Златен пръстен-печат от гроб № 1, каталожен № 1. Сн.: Стефан Димов.



Фиг. 2 Стъклена маска (лице) от гроб № 2, каталожен № 17. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 3 Стъклена маска (гръб) от гроб № 2, каталожен № 17. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 4 Стъклено мънисто от гроб № 2, каталожен № 18. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 5 Глинени култови предмети от гроб № 2, каталожен № 14. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 6 Глинени антропоморфни фигурки от гроб № 2, каталожен № 15. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 7 Глинени конусче и зарче от гроб № 2, каталожен № 16. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Фиг. 8 Глинен аскос от гроб № 2, каталожен № 19. Сн.: Георги Китов.



Г. Китов в Александровската гробница.



Връчване наградата на Хенри Форд за опазване на културно-историческото наследство за 2000 година на ТЕМП.



Изложба в БАН с материали от Старосел.



На "Кита" за неговите дръзновени гмуркания в свещената българска земя. (Шарж: Теньо Пиндарев)